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ABSTRACT

The racial attitudes of junior and senior high school students in Milwaukee were examined for students in integrated and segregated schools. Black, white, and Latin students in selected public schools were interviewed in the spring of 1974 and reinterviewed in the spring of 1975. Approach/avoidance and integration/separatism dimensions emerged from a factor analysis of racial attitude items. The dimensions indicate that student reactions to intergroup school experiences are complex. The social correlates of both dimensions are presented and the implications of the two dimensions for continued research on race and ethnic relations are discussed. Black students in all-black schools scored more on the avoidance end of the approach/avoidance dimension, while black students in integrated schools scored on the approach end. However, the black students in the all-black schools tended to score on the integration end of the integration/separatism dimension, while the black students in the all-black schools tended to score on the separatism end. The attitudes of the students in the all-black schools changed towards those in the integrated schools during the year between interviews. Reasons for the changes are suggested and partially tested. (Author/JM)

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FINAL REPORT

Separatism, Integrationism, and Avoidance Among Black, White and Latin Adolescents: A longitudinal Analysis

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Milwaukee, Wisconsin

May, 1976

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SUMMARY

Support for integration versus separatism and approach versus avoidance reactions among junior and senior high school students were examined in integrated and segregated schools. Black, white, and Latin students in selected Milwaukee public schools were interviewed in the spring of 1974 and reinterviewed in the spring of 1975. The approach-avoidance and integration-separatism dimensions emerged from a factor analysis of racial attitude items. The dimensions constitute separate and distinct responses for all three groups of students and indicate that student reactions to inter-group school experiences are complex. The social correlates of both dimensions are presented and the implications of the two dimensions for continued research on race and ethnic relations are discussed.

Black students in all-black schools scored more on the avoidance end of the approach-avoidance dimension while the black students in the integrated schools scored on the approach end. However, the black students in the all-black schools tended to score on the integration end of the integration-separatism dimension while the black students in the all-black schools tended to score on the separatism end. The attitudes of the students in the all-black schools changed towards those in the integrated schools during the year between interviews. Reasons for the changes are suggested and partially tested with additional analysis. White students in essentially all-white schools scored on the avoidance and separatist end of the two dimensions. The white students in mixed Latin schools were more acceptant of the minority students than the white students in the mixed black schools. No differences on the two dimensions were found among the Latin students in schools of different ethnic composition.

CHAPTER 1

STUDENT EXPERIENCES AND RACIAL ATTITUDES: A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL PROBLEM

Race relations in the United States have undergone some phenomenal changes in the past fifteen years. The civil rights movement and the black power movement evolved and flourished. The urban areas became battlegrounds of confrontation between police and the "colonized." At the same time white citizens' councils, the Klu Klux Klan and in some areas the National Socialist White People's Party have opposed the gains minority populations have made. We now appear to be entering a time of retrenchment from previous minority gains, and interpersonal conflict between blacks and whites particularly in the urban North is continuing.

The primary supporters and participants in bringing about changes have been disproportionately young (e.g., Brink and Harris, 1964, 1966; The National Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968; Campbell and Schuman, 1968; Marx, 1969; Feagen, 1970; Goldman, 1970; Tomlinson, 1970; Orum, 1972; Aberbach and Walker, 1973; and Schuman and Hatchett, 1974). While researchers have examined the demographic and attitudinal correlates of adult support or participation in these activities, they have tended to neglect the teenage experiences that result in a particular stance on racial issues.[1] This is true of research on white as well as minority youth. In other words, researchers have neglected the development (or political socialization) of racial attitudes among teenagers, the very people involved so heavily in the recent transformations in race relations. The purpose of this paper is to present data on the correlates of interracial acceptance or rejection among teenagers of three different groups, i.e., blacks, whites, and Latins (Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans).

Inter-group attitudes of youth no doubt reflect a number of influences. They may be functions of demographic variables, family variables (both experience and attitudinal), personality variables, academic variables, and perhaps most importantly, school experience variables. The previous focus of research on adult populations has limited investigations primarily to demographic and and attitudinal variables. The present focus on the younger populations will allow an examination of the effects of these other variables on the political socialization of inter-group attitudes among adolescents.

The central focus is how the youth come to adopt either an integrationist or separatist stance. Though the aforementioned studies focus on different movements, all are basically concerned with the integrationism versus separatism issue. Marx (1969) and Schuman and Hatchett (1974) examined conventional militancy (i.e., wanting a greater equal participation in society) while Orum (1972) examined support for the civil rights movements itself. Feagin (1970) studied support for black separatism while Aberbach and Walker (1973) examined support for both integration and black power. Others were concerned with support or participation in the urban riots which have been interpreted by at least some (e.g., Blauner, 1972) as part of a struggle for "home rule."[2] Indeed Cruse (1967, 1968) has cited the integration-separatism dimension as historically the critical choice that blacks have had to make in American society.[3]

However, young people as well as adults might adopt a third possible reaction--avoidance. Several years ago Pettigrew (1964) distinguished between these three reactions to oppression: (1) movement toward the oppressor, or the effort to achieve integration or full acceptance; (2) movement against the oppressor, the aggressive or "fight" (separatist) pattern; and (3) movement away from the oppressor or avoidance. Thus in this paper avoidance is conceptualized

as neither integrationist or separatist, but an apolitical stance of (attempted) withdrawal from inter-group contact or conflict. Avoidance may be a mild though still negative reaction to oppression, kind of a weak separatist reaction. On the other hand it may be a totally different reaction than either the integrationist or separatist reaction. Still another possibility is that avoiders constitute a pool from which the separatists or their supporters are subsequently recruited. The interrelationship of these reactions to oppression and changes in the reactions over time have not been examined. Furthermore, the three reactions are possible for all racial and ethnic groups, not just the minority youth, and both white and minority student reactions will be examined in this paper.

The importance of these reactions can be illustrated from a current controversy. For over two decades social scientists have conducted research which generally supported the "contact hypothesis" (Allport, 1954; for reviews of this literature see Pettigrew, 1971; Pettigrew et al., 1973). Recently, however, Armor (1972) reported that support for black power, black power ideology, and desire for predominantly black schools increased among bused students more than among non-bused students.

Of course, integration whether forced or voluntary does not mean the conditions of the contact hypothesis have been met (see the review of Armor's study by Pettigrew et al., 1973). This no doubt is, in part, why the results on desegregation/integration research are so contradictory and inconsistent. For whatever reasons, and there are no doubt many, St. John (1975) in her excellent review of desegregation studies found a general lack of consistency in studies which examined the effects of desegregation on prejudice and found contradictory results when the study designs and voluntary versus non-voluntary desegregation were considered (p. 73-76). Furthermore her

conclusions were unchanged when only the most carefully designed studies were examined and she concluded that the results of desegregation on student prejudice were so variable that they must be affected by circumstances other than the mere fact of desegregation. The present study improves in some ways upon the design of previous research. First, longitudinal data are used whereas most of the previous literature is based on cross-sectional research. Secondly, a multi-dimensional approach to student reactions to segregated versus integrated school experiences is utilized. Finally some correlates of the attitudinal changes are examined as an ad hoc explanation of some rather dramatic changes that occurred in the course of the study.

In summary, we shall be concerned with four central issues in this paper: (1) the importance or saliency of the different reactions and the relationship of the reactions to each other for three adolescent groups: blacks, whites, and Latins; (2) the social factors or correlates that are associated with integrationist, separatist, and avoidance stances among the three groups; (3) the distribution of these attitudes in segregated and integrated schools and the changes that occur over time; and (4) the relationship of these attitudes to the decision of drop-out and transfer students to leave the schools.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Blacks, whites and Latins are the major groups in the Milwaukee public school system in which the study was conducted. The Latins are defined by the enrollment reports of the school system as persons considered by themselves, by the school, or by the community to be of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Central-American, Cuban, Latin-American, or other Spanish origin. In fact, however, almost all who appeared in the sample were either Mexican-American

(ca.61%) or Puerto Rican (ca.39%). These two groups were combined for the analysis reported in this paper since the number from each group appearing in the sample was small. Furthermore they refer to themselves locally as Latin or Latino as well as either Mexican-American or Puerto Rican. There is little animosity between the two groups locally and, indeed, a great deal of solidarity exists since the Latin community itself is quite small.

Sample

Students from four high schools and six junior high schools selected for their varying racial and ethnic compositions participated in the study in the spring of 1974 and the spring of 1975. Limited time and funding prevented the inclusion of all the schools. In most cases the junior high schools fed into the senior high schools included in the sample. The four high schools included one with 17.6% Latin students, one that was essentially all black, one that had 45.7% black students and 51.6% white students, and one that had 94.6% white students. The junior high schools ranged from 70.7% Latin to 24.4% Latin and from 98.6% black to 93.4% white. Schools with both stable and changing racial (or ethnic group) compositions were included. Students were randomly selected within the schools. The total number of senior high school students was 323 including 110 blacks, 161 whites, and 52 Latins. The junior high sample was composed of 14 blacks,[4] 141 whites, and 72 Latins for a total of 227. The group totals were 124 blacks, 302 whites, and 124 Latins. To control for age differences, minimize disruptions to the schools and allow for the planned follow-up only seventh and tenth grade students were included in the sample. Furthermore many students in those grades were probably in schools of different composition the previous year and their attitudes would probably be more crystallized and salient after the change.

Permission notices describing the study were sent in advance to the parents both years. They were informed that if they desired, their child would not be included. Approximately one percent of the parents each year requested withdrawal of their child from the study.

Approximately one week after the notices were sent, the students were asked to report to a pre-assigned area of the school building where they were interviewed individually by undergraduate student interviewers who had been trained on the project. Whenever possible students were interviewed by someone of their own race and sex. The interviews averaged 25 minutes after which the students completed a four-page self-administered, pre-coded questionnaire. In cases where the interviewer ascertained that the student had reading problems the self-administered questionnaire was read to him/her. Less than one percent of the students indicated that they did not wish to participate in the study. As in most school related research, absentees were a problem. Members of the research team made at least two efforts to contact all students and three or four attempts were made to contact frequently absent students. Eventually 84 percent of the students initially selected to be interviewed the first year actually participated in the study. Of those 550 students, 412 or 75 percent were interviewed the second year.

Factor Analysis of Racial Items

The measures of support for integration, separatism, and avoidance were created through a factor analysis of thirteen attitudinal Likert-type items. Several items originally used by Campbell and Schuman (1968) were included.

But since the original items appeared (to the author) to fall strictly along an integrationist-separatist dimension, additional items thought to reflect an avoidance dimension were written and added. The items were factor analyzed separately for the three groups.

The factor analysis revealed two important separate and distinct response tendencies or factors (see Table 1). An integration-separatism dimension did emerge and appears to involve primarily ideological or political attitudes. The avoidance-approach items also scaled but appear to constitute a more personal reaction. A third dimension appeared for each of the groups but was

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Table 1 about here.

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less importantly statistically and did not meet the criteria for inclusion (see Armor, 1974). Substantively, however, the third dimension for two minority groups bears further research. The single item on racial or ethnic pride appeared as the third separate and distinct-dimension from either the integrationist-separatist or the approach-avoidance dimensions. If additional items reflecting minority pride had been included, it too would have emerged as an important reaction to inter-group contact in the public schools.

The approach-avoidance dimension appears to be more important to all of the students than the integration-separatism dimension. Several of the items originally assumed by the author to be integrationist-separatist items loaded heavily with the avoidance items. Furthermore, the variance in the items explained by factor 1, the approach-avoidance factor, was much higher for all groups except the blacks than the variance explained by the integrationist-separatist dimension. For white students asked about blacks, factor 1 explained 32.6% of the variance in the items themselves. For white students asked about

Table 1.

Factor Analysis of Racial Integration Items.[a]

Factor 1: Approach-Avoidance

Factor 2: Integration-Separatism

Item	Factor Loadings[b] by Racial and Ethnic Groups					
	I			II		
	Blacks	Whites	Latins	Blacks	Whites	Latins
1. All white people should be kept out of black (Latin) institutions.	.69* (.302)	.73* (.209)	.60* (.246)	.15	-.04	-.01
2. People learn things in general more quickly from people of the same race.	.04	.69* (.194)	.20	.73* (.359)	.02	.68* (.465)
3. A wise person will think twice before he trusts a person of another race.	.40	.75* (.201)	.69* (.259)	.63* (.300)	-.06	.31
4. Most of my classroom experiences with students of another race have been enjoyable.	-.22	-.20	-.20	.20	.71* (.420)	-.14
5. People must have pride in their own race before peacefully living with people of a different race.	.19	.42	.06	.00	.06	.20
6. It is best to stay away from people of another race to avoid embarrassing situations.	.78* (.340)	.77* (.186)	.47* (.161)	.08	-.02	.18

Table 1 (cont'd.)

7. Black (Latin) people do <u>not</u> need white people to help organize all-black (Latin) programs.	.05	.31	.65* (.219)	.68* (.350)	-.11	-.40
8. People of the different races can truly understand each other's problems.	.17	.06	.01	.08	.79* (.537)	.04
9. Schools with mostly black (Latin) students should have mostly black (Latin) teachers and schools with mostly white students should have mostly white teachers.	.50* (.174)	.71* (.170)	.53* (.180)	.25	-.14	.14
10. White people can never fully understand the black (Latin) condition.	.01	.51* (.111)	.21	.73* (.372)	.11	-.23
11. Close friendship between blacks (Latins) and whites is possible.	-.13	-.14	-.09	.09	.26	-.72* (-.523)
12. People should have nothing to do with people of another race if they can help it.	.84* (.398)	.75* (.231)	.76* (.330)	-.10	.17	.24
13. White people should take part in civil rights activities.	-.18	.19	-.02	.32	.57* (.335)	.00

Table 1 (cont'd.)

[a]Using principal components varimax solution. In the Latin-white mixed schools the items were changed to read Latin-white rather than black-white. An oblique rotation resulted in factor loadings almost identical to those obtained from the orthogonal. The two factors were only slightly (and inconsistently) correlated for the three groups (-.154 for blacks, -.011 for whites, and .147 for Latins). The analysis was performed on N's of 163 blacks, 302 whites, and 124 Latins.

[b]Denotes items used in composite indices. The figures in parentheses are the weights, based on the factor analysis, used to construct the measures. The following reliability (Ω) and validity (ρ_{TS}) coefficients were obtained for the three groups (see Heise and Bohrnstedt, 1970, also Armor, 1974):

Blacks: Factor 1 (Approach-Avoidance) $\Omega = .810, \rho_{TS} = .958$

Factor 2 (Integration-Separatism) $\Omega = .795, \rho_{TS} = .958$

Whites: Factor 1 (Approach-Avoidance) $\Omega = .869, \rho_{TS} = .979$

Factor 2 (Integration-Separatism $\Omega = .734, \rho_{TS} = .976$

Latins: Factor 1 (Approach-Avoidance) $\Omega = .829, \rho_{TS} = .961$

Factor 2 (Integration-Separatism $\Omega = .674, \rho_{TS} = .876$

Latins it was 28.4%, for Latin students asked about whites, 24.3% and for blacks asked about whites 22.7%. On the other hand factor 2 explained only 13.9%, 10.8%, 10.0% and 19.6% for the same respective groups.[5]

An oblique rotation of the factors also revealed, surprisingly, that the two dimensions were quite independent of each other. In fact the factor loadings and factor scores were almost identical to the orthogonal solution scores since the dimensions were so uncorrelated. The correlation between the two primary factors was -.154 for the black students, -.011 for the white students, and .147 for the Latin students. The correlation for the black students is the only one that reached statistical significance ($p<.05$, $N=163$), but it is still a relatively low correlation. Nevertheless it does indicate that there is a slight tendency for the avoiders to be separatists, and there is a possibility that one group could recruit from another during times of strife. Or to phrase the same correlation using the opposite ends of the dimensions, there was a slight tendency for the (ideological) integrationists to be approachers in their personal stance. More will be said about this in the discussion section.

The factor analysis also revealed that the interpretation of the items by the three different groups differs, although not radically. Four items, 1, 6, 9, and 12 all loaded heavily on the approach-avoidance dimension for all three groups. These items were: (1) All white people should be dept out of black (Latin) institutions; (6) It is best to stay away from people of another race to avoid embarrassing situations; (9) Schools with mostly black (Latin) students should have mostly black (Latin) teachers and schools with mostly white students should have mostly white teachers; and (12) People should have nothing to do with people of another race if they can help it.

Several of the other items loaded heavily for only one group or in some cases for two groups but not the third. And in some cases the same item loaded on different factors for different populations. Nevertheless the two conceptual dimensions appear to be moderately consistent across the groups and the differences in loadings will be treated as differences in interpretation by the three groups rather than as different dimensions for each of the groups. Thus different factor scores and in some cases different items were used to create the indices used here.[6] Items denoted with an asterisk in Table 1 were used in the creation of the indices while the factor score coefficients or weights are presented in parentheses. We now turn to an examination of the correlates of the integration-separatism and approach-avoidance dimensions.

Independent Variables: Conceptual Groupings

The variables most commonly related to militancy in previous studies have been the demographic variables. The respondents' sex, father and mother's education and occupation, as well as skin hue (see Ransford, 1970; Udry, 1971 for previous uses of this variable) of the minority students will be included in this study. Low status and darker skin of minority community members has usually been associated with their participation and support of urban violence and with anti-white attitudes. High socio-economic status has usually been associated with conventional militancy (i.e., militant advocacy of traditional or conventional goals--see for example Marx, 1969). Males have usually been found to be more active than women in both kinds of actions. We expect to find the same here.

A second group of variables is parental and peer influences. Often the effects of socio-economic status are mediated through subtle kinds of influences such as neighborhood, restrictions on students' peer choices, and parental

teaching of attitudes both formal and informal. Thus perception of parental and peer support for integration in general and for integrated (versus segregated) schools in particular will be included. These measures should be related to both dimensions but probably more closely to the integration-separatism dimension than the approach-avoidance dimension.

The inter-group experiences the students have in the schools also affect their attitudes and vice versa. The number of inter-group friendships, quality of the inter-group experience (whether the groups get along well at the school and how members of the other group treat him/her personally), and the fear of threats from the other group will be included as measures of inter-group experiences. Good experiences should be related to support for integration and to the approach end of the approach-avoidance dimension. These kinds of personal experiences should be more closely associated with the approach-avoidance dimension than with the more political or ideological support for integration.

Two other groupings of variables related to school experiences are the academic variables and relationship with authority figures. Academic variables should be related to the racial stance since students are in competition with each other for the rewards of the system. The security of good grades may, however, improve the willingness or desire of the students to interact with members of other groups, and thus we cannot predict how the academic variables will relate to the two dimensions. The academic measures to be used in this study are self-reported grades, the student's rating of his own ability vis-a-vis other students in school, occupational aspirations, and the interviewer's assessment of the students' language usage.

The relationship of the minority students in particular to authority figures could also affect the stance they take on racial issues. Many parents of failing minority students feel their students are "push-outs," not drop-outs, and the relationship the students have with the teachers and other school personnel may affect their feelings about avoidance, integration and separatism. Likewise the students' experiences and attitudes towards the police may affect their stance. Finally the race of the interviewer is likely to affect responses to survey questions (see for example Schuman and Converse, 1971; Schuman and Hatchett, 1974). Particularly in the case of the minority students we expect good relations with authority figures and being interviewed by white interviewers to be associated with support for integration and approach to students of another ethnic or racial group.

Ultimately the student's own personality, the way in which she/he views himself (self concept), feelings of personal control or powerlessness, both facilitating and debilitating anxiety, and feelings of anomie should be related to his/her attitudes. Both the demographic and parental influences are likely to be reflected indirectly in these kinds of variables, although the indirect relationships will not be examined in this paper. Good self concept, feelings of personal control, lack of anxiety and anomie should all be associated with support for integration and even more strongly associated with approach to students of another racial or ethnic group.

Independent Variable Measurements

Parental occupation and education, the student's occupational aspirations and self-reported grades were all coded on nine point scales. The interviewers made two judgements about the students (on scales from 1 to 4), the skin hue of the minority students and English usage of all students. A number of variables

were coded on five point scales. These were: perception of parental and peer support for integration in general and for integrated school composition in particular, number of friends of the other racial or ethnic group, perception of inter-group relations in the school, quality of classroom experiences with members of the other group, and ratings the students made of their own school ability. Fears of threats, beatings, and theft were probed in three separate questions, and the responses (yes-no) were combined. The students' experience (or perception) with the police, whether the police used insulting language, frisked people unnecessarily, or roughed-up people in their neighborhood, and whether the students or their friends had experienced any of these things were all combined into a nine point index. The remainder of the measures were obtained from five point Likert-type questions. These included attitudes toward the police (3 items), student perceived attitudes of the teachers toward themselves (3 items), sense of personal control (3 items from the Equality of Educational Opportunity Study--Coleman, et al., 1966), self-concept (5 items), anomie (3 items), and both debilitating and facilitating anxiety (4 and 3 items respectively adapted from Alpert and Haber, 1960).

The Likert-type items for each concept were factor analyzed to confirm that they were unidimensional. The factor analysis indicated that the scaling metric would not be significantly improved by weighing specific items; the factor score coefficients were approximately equal for all items. Thus simple summated ratings were used for the Likert-type items.

It should be noted that most of these measures constitute ordinal scales while most of the analysis for this paper "requires" interval data. In recent years considerable justification for the use of interval statistics with ordinal data has appeared in the literature (e.g., Abelson and Tukey, 1970; Boyle, 1970;

Labovits, 1970). The benefits are considerable. As summarized by Labovitz (1970) the important considerations for the purposes of this paper are: (1) more powerful, sensitive, better developed and interpretable statistics with known sampling error are available; (2) there is better retention or knowledge or information about the data; and (3) there is greater versatility in the statistical manipulations (e.g., partial and multiple regression). This last point is particularly critical since comparisons of the relative contributions of the various variables would not be possible without the use of regression analysis.

Results of Regression Analyses

The integration-separatism and approach-avoidance dimensions were each used as the dependent variables in two regression equations. The first examined whether each of the conceptual groupings were related to the two dimensions. Thus all of the variables within each of the conceptual groupings, but no other variables were included in a separate regression. These results are presented in Table 2. To examine the independent contribution and simple correlations all

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Table 2 about here.

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the variables were subsequently included in one regression equation.

Correlates of integration-separatism

As expected, the demographic variables explained significant proportions of the variance of the integration-separatism dimension for the two minority groups. They were not related, however, to the dimension for the white students. Evidently the demographic variables are more important for the minority populations because of the longstanding efforts of the minority middle classes in

TABLE 2

Outcome of Multiple Regression Equations for Conceptually Grouped Independent Variables.

Independent Variables (Number)	Black[a] F ratio (R^2)	White[b] F ratio (R^2)	Latin[c] F ratio (R^2)
Dimensions and Groups			
Integration (versus Separatism)			
Demographic Variables (6)	3.29 (.112)**	1.13 (.022)	3.03 (.135)**
Parental and Peer Influences (4)	2.01 (.048)	2.46 (.032)*	0.53 (.017)
Inter-group Experiences (4)	2.66 (.063)*	8.97 (.108)***	1.19 (.039)
Academic Variables (4)	2.67 (.063)*	4.13 (.053)**	1.72 (.055)
Relation to Authority Figures (4)	2.28 (.055)	6.65 (.082)***	2.61 (.081)*
Personality Variables (5)	6.33 (.168)***	2.87 (.046)*	2.22 (.086)
All Variables Together (27)	2.93 (.370)***	4.12 (.289)***	1.97 (.356)**
Approach (versus Avoidance)			
Demographic Variables (6)	1.81 (.065)	5.37 (.098)***	3.33 (.146)**
Parental and Peer Influences (4)	0.80 (.020)	7.29 (.089)***	4.59 (.134)**
Inter-group Experiences (4)	10.91 (.216)***	8.01 (.097)***	1.22 (.039)
Academic Variables (4)	9.80 (.199)***	4.13 (.053)***	2.00 (.063)
Relation to Authority Figures (4)	17.95 (.312)***	12.75 (.147)***	4.32 (.127)**
Personality Variables (5)	5.47 (.148)***	10.55 (.151)***	14.29 (.377)***
All Variables Together (27)	7.48 (.600)***	6.86 (.403)***	5.01 (.585)***

[a] N=163 * $p<.05$

[b] N=302 ** $p<.01$

[c] N=124 *** $p<.001$

conventional militancy. Perception of parental and peer support for integration in general and for integrated schools in particular had very little relationship to the integration-separatism feelings of the students themselves. The multiple correlation coefficient for these perceived support measures for the white students was statistically significant, but the four measures taken together explained only 3.2% of the variance.

The inter-group experiences and academic variables were important for the white and black students, but not for the Latin students in predicting support for integration. The white students were more acceptant of the Latin than the black students; this may account for the little effect inter-group experiences had on the Latin students' attitudes. The lesser hostility and perhaps competitiveness would also explain the non-significance of the academic variables in predicting support for integration or separatism.

Relationship to authority figures was statistically significant for the white and Latin students, and the personality variables were significant for the black and white students. Except for the inter-group experiences of the white students and the personality variables for the black students, however, the explained variance for these relationships was quite low. Thus, our predictions were generally confirmed, but the relationships tended to be weak.

The explained variance for all the measures together was 37% for the black students, 28.9% for the white students, and 35.6% for the Latin students. The low explained variance both in the total equations and in the conceptual groupings is explained in part by the inconsistency with which the variables were related to the integration-separatism dimension. This is shown in Table 3 which presents the Pearsonian correlation and beta coefficients of the individual measures with the integration-separatism dimension.

Of the demographic variables, only the occupational and educational levels of the black students' mothers were significantly related to the students'

Table 3 about here.

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support for integration while none of the variables were significantly related for the white students, and only the father's education and skin hue of the Latin students was related to the dimension. In other words, black students whose mothers had high occupational and educational levels tended to support integration while Latin students whose fathers were well educated tended to support integration. Latin students with a light skin hue also tended to support integration. Despite the fact that only a few of these demographic measures were significantly related to the integration-separatism dimension, taken together they were the most important predictor of support for integration (or separatism) for the Latin students and the second best predictor for the black students.

Surprisingly the same inconsistent pattern also appeared for the school related categories of inter-group experience variables and academic variables. Good classroom experiences produced support for integration among the white and the black students, and the students' perception of good race relations in the school and the number of other group friends they had also affected the white students' attitudes. The inter-group experience variables were the most important predictors of the integration-separatism dimension for the white students.

Self-reported grades were significantly related to the dimension for all three populations, but negatively. That is, the better students in all three groups tended to support separatism and not integration. The white students who rated their own ability highly and those who had good English usage as assessed

TABLE 3

Support for Integration (versus Separatism) among Black, White, and Latin Milwaukee Junior and Senior High School Students.

	Blacks		Whites		Latins	
1. Demographic Variables	Correlation	Beta	Correlation	Beta	Correlation	Beta
Father's occupation	-.025	-.005	.043	.083	-.163	-.107
Mother's occupation	.194*	.175	-.089	-.053	.038	-.110
Father's education	.078	.023	-.017	-.004	.248**	.240
Mother's education	.237**	.140	-.046	-.113	.021	-.272
Sex	.148	.120	.094	.086	.024	-.002
Skin Hue	-.006	-.035	---	---	-.246**	-.241
2. Parental and Peer Influences						
Parental preference for integrated schools	-.009	.012	-.194	-.141	.120	.109
Parental desire for integration in general	.157*	.030	.117	-.003	.127	.078
Friends prefer integrated school	-.005	.003	-.099	.070	.126	.010
Friends desire integration in general	.146	.053	.188	.058	.196*	.218
3. Inter-group Experiences						
Number of friends of other groups	.136	.154	.186**	.154	.100	-.025
Perception of good race relations in school	.125	-.108	.211**	.126	-.073	-.114
Self-reported classroom experiences	.174*	.305	.212**	.188	-.031	.035
Fear of being beaten, threatened or stolen from	.127	.118	.086	.100	.055	.195

Table 3 (cont'd.)

4. Academic Variables						
Self-reported grades	-.221*	-.040	-.186	-.156	-.208*	-.035
Self Rating of Ability	-.037	.015	-.089	.018	-.138	-.019
Interviewer assessment of respondent's language usage	-.098	-.018	.070	.053	-.159	-.034
Occupational aspirations	-.071	-.060	.057	-.022	.059	.206
5. Relation to Authority Figures						
Attitudes towards police	.160	.036	.231*	.240*	.201*	.024
Negative experiences with police	-.170	-.009	-.001	.084	-.109	.165
Perception of Teachers' Attitudes about Self	-.113	-.029	.323**	.161	.213*	.144
Race of Interviewer	.091	.043	.076	.083	-.203*	-.129
6. Personality Variables						
Personal Control	.178	-.032	-.053	-.060	.267**	.076
Self-Concept	.330**	.197	.024	-.099	.179*	.080
Anomie	-.191*	-.094	.105	.072	-.118	-.038
Facilitating Anxiety	-.192*	-.206	.162*	.122	-.118	-.089
Debilitating Anxiety	-.260**	-.156	-.009	.021	-.189*	-.152
	R^2= .370**		R^2= .289**		R^2= .357**	

*p<.05 **p<.01

by the interviewer also tended to favor separatism. The beta coefficient for the self-rating of ability, however, was quite low, indicating that it made no significant contribution over and above the contribution made by all the other variables. Self-reported grades and the interviewer's assessment of language usage probably accounted for most of this variation, and this self confidence or self-rating may be an intervening variable between ability and attitudes.

Favorable attitudes of the white and Latin students towards the police and perceptions of positive teacher attitudes toward themselves were significantly associated with support for integration. Curiously, the student's (and his/her friends) reported experience with the police, and the race of interviewers were not correlated with support for either separatism or integration for any of the three groups. Perhaps these variables are important only among older populations.

The most consistent variables were the personality variables. All of them were associated with the integration-separatism dimension for the black students and the personality variables taken together explained more variance in the dependent variable for the black students than any of the other groupings. Though the personality variables taken together were not significant for the Latin students, personal control, self-concept and debilitating anxiety individually were significantly related to the Latin students' stance on the integration-separatism dimension. The direction of these relationships is as expected. Students with a strong sense of personal control and good self-concept tend to support integration while those with high anomie or anxiety scores tend to support separatism. However, for the white students high facilitating anxiety was associated with support for integration, not for separatism, and was the only one of the personality variables for whites that was significantly related to the dimension.

The variables included in this analysis explained more of the variance of the dimension for the two minorities than for the white students (37.0%, and 35.7% compared to 28.9%). It appears that school related variables are more important in determining the support of the minority groups for integration or separatism than for students from the white population.

It is also instructive to examine the standardized regression coefficients (betas). Essentially they show the unique contribution that the variable makes when all the others have been held constant. Or to state it another way, the beta coefficients indicate what increase in the dependent variable would result from a one-unit increase in the independent variable if all the other variables are held constant. And since they have all been standardized, the contributions can be directly compared. For the black students the most important variable is his own classroom experiences with the white students (.305). Self-concept (.197) and both facilitating (-.206) and debilitating (-1.56) anxiety are also important, and to a lesser extent the mother's occupational level (.175), the number of white friends (.154), the mother's educational level (.140), the students' perception of intergroup relations in the school (-.108), his fears of threats, beatings, and thefts (.118), and sex (.120).

For the white students the highest unique contributor is their attitude toward the police (.240). Obviously attitudes toward the police are correlates only since the data show no relationship between reported experience with the police and the white students' attitudes about integration. Other important predictors for the white students are classroom experiences with minority students (.188), the number of minority students they have as friends (.154), their perception of teacher's attitudes toward themselves (.161), self-reported grades (-.156), parental preference for integrated schools (-.141), perception

of good race relations in school (.126), and facilitating anxiety (.122).

Finally the most important unique contribution for the Latin students comes from the educational levels of both the father and the mother (.240 and -.272), and the skin hue of the students themselves (-.241). But occupational aspiration levels (.206), fear of threats, fights, or thefts (.195), and whether their friends support integration in general (.218) are also important contributors to the feelings about integration versus separatism. Less important were experiences with police (.165), debilitating anxiety (-.152), perception of teacher attitudes (.144), and race of the interviewer (-.129).

Correlates of Approach-Avoidance

Not only was the approach-avoidance dimension more salient than the integration-separatism dimension for these junior and senior high school adolescents, but most of the coneptual groupings proved to be significantly (and more closely) related to the approach-avoidance dimension (refer again to Table 2). Only the demographic variables and the parental and peer variables for the black students, and the inter-group experiences and academic variables for the Latin students were not significantly related to the dimension. With the exception of the demographic variables these same variables were not significantly related to the integration-separatism dimension either. The most perplexing of these non-results is the inter-group experiences for the Latin students. Perhaps it again indicates good acceptance by the white students so that only the personality, demographic, and authority variables have an effect on their feelings about approach and avoidance of white students. In most cases, however, the explained variance is higher for the approach-avoidance dimension than it was for the integration-separatism dimension. The primary exception is the demographic variables for the minority groups which we expected to be

correlated higher with the integration-separatism dimension. On the other hand, the inter-group experience measures and the personality variables were expected to be more closely associated with the approach-avoidance dimension. The inter-group experience measures were significantly more closely associated only for the black students while the personality measures were for only the white and Latin students. Thus our expectations here were only partially confirmed.

Despite the significant relationships of the conceptual groupings to the approach-avoidance dimension, some of the multiple correlations are low, and examination of the individual variables again indicates some inconsistency among the variables in the conceptual groupings (see Table 4). For the white students high parental occupational status and being female were associated with approach of other groups. Those white students whose parents had high occupational status were more willing to approach minority students more often than those of low occupational status. For the Latin students the education of both the father and the mother, as well as being light skinned, was associated with approach. For the black students, on the other hand, the father's occupation was inversely associated; the higher the father's occupational status, the more likely the student would adopt an avoidance stance. This correlation alone

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Table 4 about here.

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was not enough to make the whole set of demographic variables significant; the rest of the associations for the black students were not statistically significant, and the direction of the relationships was inconsistent.

The parental and peer influences were quite consistent for the Latin and the white students. Perceived parental and peer support for integration in

TABLE 4

Support for Approach (versus Avoidance) among Black, White, and Latin Milwaukee Junior and Senior High School Students

	Blacks		Whites		Latins	
1. Demographic Variables	Correlation	Beta	Correlation	Beta	Correlation	Beta
Father's occupation	-.174*	-.124	.195**	.089	.073	.112
Mother's occupation	.043	-.006	.151**	.110	.104	.025
Father's education	-.035	-.026	.032	-.022	.175*	.067
Mother's education	.016	-.027	.034	-.008	.297**	.112
Sex	.130	.025	.189**	.136	.000	.014
Skin Hue	.105	.010	---	---	.221*	.143
2. Parental and Peer Influence						
Parental preference for integrated schools	-.121	.019	.163	-.013	-.065	.087
Parental desire for integration in general	.103	.009	.198	.121	.322**	.222
Friends prefer integrated school	.030	.090	.203	.031	.330**	.161
Friends desire integration in general	-.154*	-.175	.231	.087	.287**	.149
3. Inter-group Experiences						
Number of friends of other groups	.062	.008	.237**	.202	.155	-.048
Perception of good race relations in school	-.445**	-.346	.210**	.159	.059	.066
Self-reported classroom experiences	-.377**	.012	.000	-.009	.084	.025
Fear of being beaten, threatened or stolen from	.173*	.070	.009	-.034	.117	.120

Table 4 (cont'd.)

4. Academic Variables						
Self-reported grades	-.183*	-.104	-.205**	-.105	-.166	-.091
Self Rating of Ability	-.018	-.010	-.071	.028	-.177*	.037
Interviewer assessment of respondent's language usage	.220**	.163	.138*	.049	.268**	-.035
Occupational aspirations	-.017	-.039	-.167**	.062	-.218*	-.056
5. Relation to Authority Figures						
Attitudes towards police	.078	.025	-.012	.065	.283**	.144
Negative experiences with police	-.149	.025	.041	.116	-.094	-.026
Perception of Teachers' Attitudes about Self	.554**	.364	.362**	.283	.261**	.072
Race of Interviewer	-.069	-.070	-.045	.025	.176*	.037
6. Personality Variables						
Personal Control	.226**	.071	.321**	.203	.523**	.240
Self-Concept	.195*	-.022	.317**	.004	.465**	.185
Anomie	-.067	-.122	-.133*	-.048	-.189*	-.076
Facilitating Anxiety	-.275**	-.160	-.166**	-.081	-.347**	-.286
Debilitating Anxiety	.089	.056	-.095	.041	-.231**	.045
	R^2= .599**		R^2= .403**		R^2= .585**	

*p<.05 **p<.01

general and perceived parental preference for an integrated school were all related to the approach end of the dimension. These same influences were not significant for the black students.

The perception of inter-group experiences was particularly important for the black students, but in a negative way. Those students who indicated that good inter-group relations occurred in the school, and those who said they were well-treated in class by members of the other group scored predominantly on the avoidance end of the dimension. Perhaps the "avoiders" perceived that everyone was getting along, but for personal reasons they chose to avoid contact with the white students. This interpretation is supported by some of the other results. Note that those with low self-concept and low sense of personal control, and those with high facilitating anxiety tended to score high on avoidance (the correlations were .195, .226 and -.275 respectively for the black students), and this was true for the white and Latin students as well as the black students. Furthermore, the interviewers' assessment of good student language usage was related to the approach end of the dimension, and perception by the black students of good teacher reaction was strongly correlated with the dimension (.554). In fact the relatively high beta coefficients indicate that the students' perception of the teacher attitudes, the interviewers' assessment of language usage, perception of inter-group relations, and facilitating anxiety make independent contributions to the approach-avoidance dimension and are some of the most important contributors (.368, .163, -.346, and -.160 respectively) along with friends' support for integration (-.175). In sum, these results taken together suggest that avoiders are likely to be students who have either withdrawn or been excluded from normal contacts in the school. Thus it would be quite plausible for such students to perceive others as getting along well but favor an avoidance posture themselves.

For the white students, on the other hand, perception of good inter-group relations and the larger number of friends from the other group were associated with approach rather than avoidance. This relationship was expected, but the causality is probably reciprocal; approach attitudes lead to inter-group relationships which lead to further willingness to approach students of the other group.

The perceived attitude of the teachers was important for the white and Latin students, but not nearly as important as it was for the black students. Attitudes toward the police were also important for the Latin students. The relationship of the academic variables to the approach-avoidance dimension was consistent acros. all three groups. The interviewer's assessment of the students' language usuage was lowly correlated with the approach end of the dimension for the black students (.220); the same correlation was .138 for the white and .268 for the Latin students. Self-reported grades for the three groups were again (similar to the results for the integration-separatism dimension) related in a negative way to the dimension. The better students from all three groups tended to favor avoidance (-.183 for blacks, -.205 for whites, and -.175 for Latins) though the correlations were low High occupational aspirations of the white and Latin students were also associated with avoidance.

Likewise, there was considerable consistency across the three groups for the personality dimensions. Students with a high sense of personal control and self-concept tended to score on the approach end of the dimension while those with high anomie scores (except for the black students) and with high facilitating anxiety (and debilitating anxiety for the Latin students) scored more often on the avoidance end of the dimension. Personal control, self-concept and facilitating anxiety were most closely associated for the Latin students and less closely associated for the other two groups.

The beta coefficients reveal that the most important variables for white students were perception of teacher attitudes (.283), sense of personal control (.203), number of black friends (.202), and perception of good inter-group relations (.159). The most important variables for the Latin students were facilitating anxiety (-.286), personal control (.240), parental preference for integration (.222), and self-concept (.185). Less important for the Latins were attitudes toward the police (.144), peer support for integrated schools (.149) and integration in general (.161), and skin hue (.143).

The authority figure variab explained the most variance for the black students although the inter-group experiences, academic variables and personality variables were also important contributors. For the white students the authority figure and personality variables were the most important variable although they were less important than for the minority students. The personality variables were particularly important in explaining variance for the Latin students on the approach-avoidance dimension, but the demographic, parental and peer, and authority figure variables were also important.

Again the variables together explained more of the variance for black and Latin students (60% and 58.5% respectively) than for the white students (40.3%). The variables also explain a much higher percentage of the variance for the approach-avoidance dimension than for the integration-separatism dimension. This was true for all three groups, but particularly so for the minority students.

Discussion of the Dimensions and their Correlates

Unfortunately the variables that were included under the conceptual groupings were inconsistent in predicting the scores on both dimensions. However, the personality variables were the most consistent and important predictors. This was especially true for the approach-avoidance dimension and for the Latin students.

As in many Latin communities, the Milwaukee Latin community is composed of both long-time residents and relatively new migrants (primarily from Texas where many lived in predominantly Mexican-American communities). Although length of residency was not examined, it may explain in part the saliency of the personality variables for the Latin students. Recent migrants may be less assimilated, speak less English, have less contact with whites, etc. than the long-term residents. Adolescents especially may feel estranged and score on the avoidance end of the approach-avoidance dimension. This same factor may account in part for the effect of the Latin demographic variables on both dimensions. The parents of these recent arrivals would likely hold the lowest status jobs in the community and their lesser assimilation would result in low socio-economic status being associated with avoidance and separatism.

The black students, on the other hand, appear to be the most politicized with regard to integration and separatism attitudes. The demographic variables were important for the black students and the dimension explained nearly the same amount of variance in the factor analysis as the approach-avoidance dimension (19.6% compared to 22.7%). Given the long history of attempts to rectify racial injustice and considering the recency of the civil rights and black power era, such a politicization of the black students is not unexpected. Furthermore we would expect it to be related to demographic variables as it is in the adult population. This heightened politicization and sensitivity may then reflect the proclivity of some black youth to participate in both riots and productive organization within their communities. The importance of authority figures for the black students' (on the approach-avoidance dimension) may also be explained by such feelings as authority figures do represent the larger society to the black students. Nevertheless these junior and senior high students are concerned primarily with interpersonal reactions that have yet to be translated into the more political questions to which adults would react. As mentioned previously, the approach-avoidance dimension was more important for these adolescents than was the integration-separatism dimension. Other evidence of the importance of the approach-avoidance dimension comes from the explained variance figures. Nearly sixty percent of the variance for the two minority groups was explained in the regression equations, and almost all of this was by school related variables.

The approach-avoidance dimension was associated with all the conceptual groups for the white students, but the total explained variance was only 40%. Evidently the school situation and related variables are not as critical in determining the attitudes of the white students. Additional effects on the white students appear to come from other variables not

measured in this study. These are probably family and socio-economic related variables. Thus the school environment appears to be a major factor affecting minority student reactions but it is of lesser, though still significant, importance for white students.

The "avoiders" in particular are interesting, some having low self-esteem, low sense of personal control, poor language usage, but high facilitating anxiety. In addition the black "avoiders" also tend to have a negative view of teacher attitudes towards themselves (r=.554) and yet perceive good race relations as occurring among others. Those who scored on the approach end of the dimension may have more realistic perceptions of race relations. Certainly the minority students who score on the approach end can avail themselves of the "non-traditional" opportunities that accrue from integrated school experiences (documented so well by Crain, 1970). On the other hand the minority students who are avoiders may be those who are drop-outs or are "pushed out" by the school society.

Unfortunately the academically good students tended to be avoiders. The correlation was low but consistent for all three groups. The white avoiders may be children of parents with higher occupational levels who are considering white flight (the correlations for white father and mother occupational levels and avoidance were .195 and .151). In any case we would hope that the better students from all three groups would take the lead in improving inter-group relations because ironically it is they (at least among the minority students) who will potentially have the most contact with other-group members in adult life. Perhaps under more favorable circumstances they do lead. But Forward and Williams have also shown that bright black students who felt their personal opportunities were blocked were more supportive of riots and, that sounds like our bright avoiders.

It is also interesting that the two dimensions were not highly related, and it would be instructive to obtain data from adult samples. Previous adult studies have emphasized primarily the integration-separatism dimension. Yet the avoidance dimension was more important for all three adolescent groups. Under what conditions would the dimensions /be related? Obviously both minority and white adults have expanded opportunities, at least in secondary relationships, for interaction and contact, although they do not have the school opportunity which is a major one. Yet there are segments of the population that probably do not have significant inter-group contacts, or the contacts are very traditional. Would this result in a continuation of an avoidance posture? Which adults opt for those relationships and positions which exclude contacts outside their own ethnic or racial community? Perhaps during times of strife, racial oppression, or when social movements are flourishing these reactions of avoidance, integrationism, and separatism do constitute bases from which political development occurs. For example, avoiders may become a pool from which true ideological separatists draw recruits in times of stress. But there are also "push" factors (i.e., harsh contacts with other group members). Both dimensions need to be studied over time to unravel these types of processes.

CHAPTER 4

SCHOOL COMPOSITION AND CHANGES OVER TIME

For the remainder of the analysis reported here the student-respondents were classified according to both race and school composition. This resulted in the following groupings. The number of schools included in each category is listed in the parentheses.

1. Whites in an essentially all-white senior high school (1)
2. Whites in an essentially all-white junior high school (1)
3. Whites in a mixed white-black senior high school (1)
4. Whites in mixed white-black junior high schools (2)
5. Whites in a mixed white-Latin senior high school (1)
6. Whites in mixed white-Latin junior high school (2)
7. Blacks in an all-black senior high school (1)
8. Blacks in mixed black-white senior high schools (2)
9. Blacks in mixed black-white junior high schools (3)
10. Latins in a mixed Latin-white senior high school (1)
11. Latins in a predominantly white junior high school (1)
12. Latins in a predominantly Latin junior high school (1)

Responses for each of the three groups (blacks, whites, and Latins) were analyzed separately through analyses of covariance with repeated measures on years (a split-plot design) and unequal n's. Subsequent analyses of covariance were computed with parental occupation and education of both the father and the mother simultaneously controlled. Parental occupation and education, measured on nine-point scales, had relatively little effect and the results reported below refer to the regular analysis of covariance unless otherwise noted.

Latin Students

The Latin junior high school students in both the predominantly white and the predominantly Latin schools scored slightly on the avoidance end of the standardized approach-avoidance dimension (-.157) while the Latin senior high school students scored slightly on the approach end of the dimension, but the differences were not statistically significant ($F = 0.87$). From 1974 to 1975 there was a slight shift towards the avoidance stance for both the junior and senior high students, but again the change was not statistically significant ($F = 2.31$, p n.s. with 2 and 115 d.f.) and there was no interaction effect ($F = 0.29$). The F-ratios were even smaller when parental occupation and education were controlled (0.89, 0.22, and 0.29). Likewise there was no difference on the separatism-integration dimension for the Latin students in the three different kinds of schools and none of the effects approached statistical significance.

The Latin students who were unavailable for reinterviewing were very similar in their attitudes to the students who remained and were interviewed the second year. Basically two kinds of students were unavailable for reinterviewing, those who dropped from school altogether and those who moved or changed schools. Only about 1 percent of the total sample declined to be reinterviewed.

In any case the results for the Latin students would have remained the same if the drop-outs and transfer students had been reinterviewed; they were not substantially different from the continuing students. This also indicates that the drop-out and transfer students did not leave for racial or inter-group reasons.

White Students

White student scores on the approach-avoidance dimension changed slightly toward the approach end of the dimension over the year's time, but the change was not statistically significant ($F = 0.19$). Further, there was no overall interaction effect ($F = 1.16$). These results are portrayed in Figure 1. The distribution of the race-school groups

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Figure 1 about here

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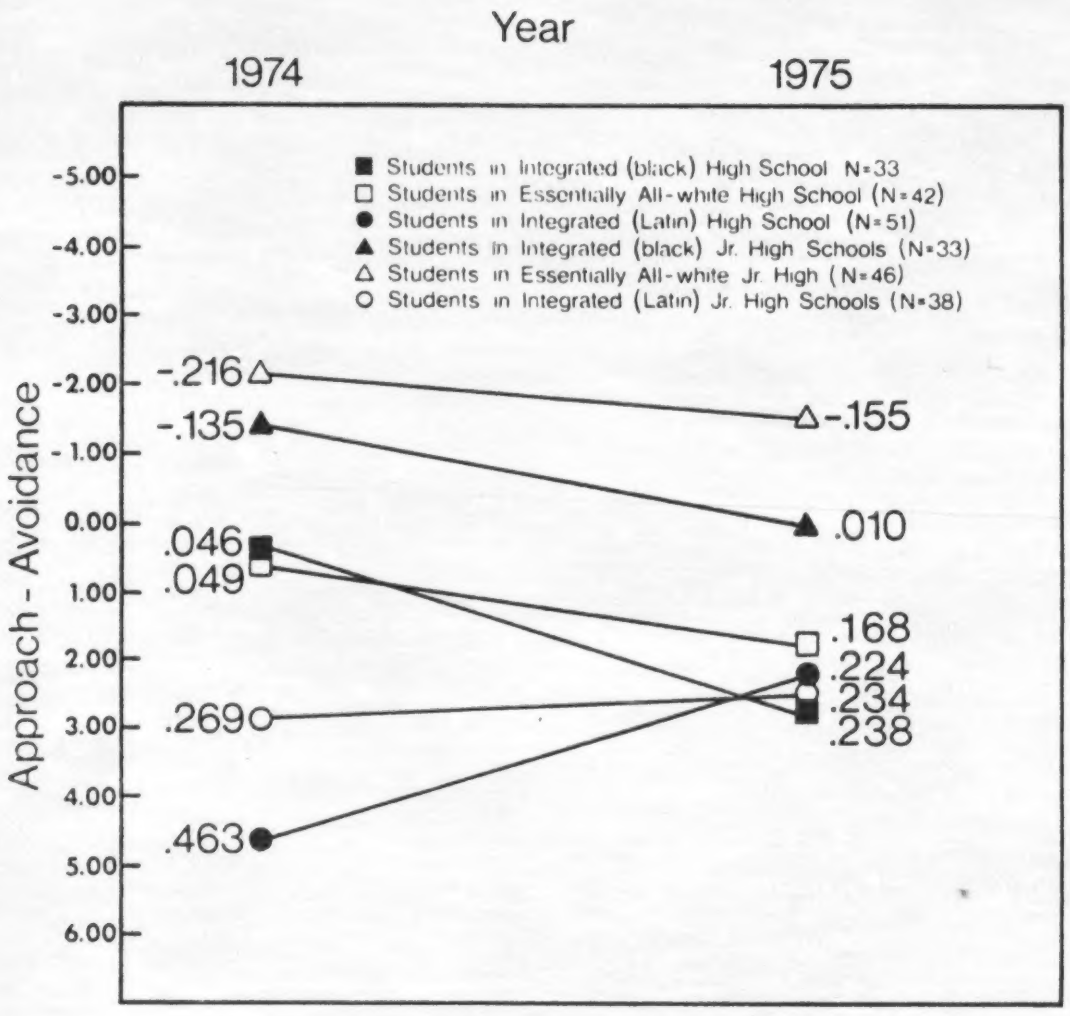
on the dimension was itself significant, however ($F = 3.38$, d.f. = 5 and 233, $p < .01$). The white junior high students in both integrated white-black and basically all-white schools scored most heavily on the avoidance end of the dimension while the older students in the high schools of similar composition scored in the middle of the dimension. The white students in both junior and senior high schools with the Latin students, on the other hand, were quite willing to approach the minority Latin students. These differences are consistent with previous research which has found less hostility toward lighter skinned minorities than blacks.

Among the white students, however, the students who were unavailable for reinterviewing, either because they had dropped from school or had transferred, did make a difference for students in three types of schools. Among the white students in the basically all-white senior high and in both the junior and senior mixed Latin schools those who were unavailable for reinterview tended to score higher on the avoidance end of the approach-avoidance dimension than did the continuing students ($t = 2.38$, 4.12, and 2.53 respectively for students in three kinds of schools, $p < .01$ using one-tailed tests).

The white students in mixed white-Latin and mixed white-black junior high schools who were unavailable for reinterview also tended to be more

Figure 1



White Students' Changes on the Approach-Avoidance Index 1974-1975.

Figure 2 about here

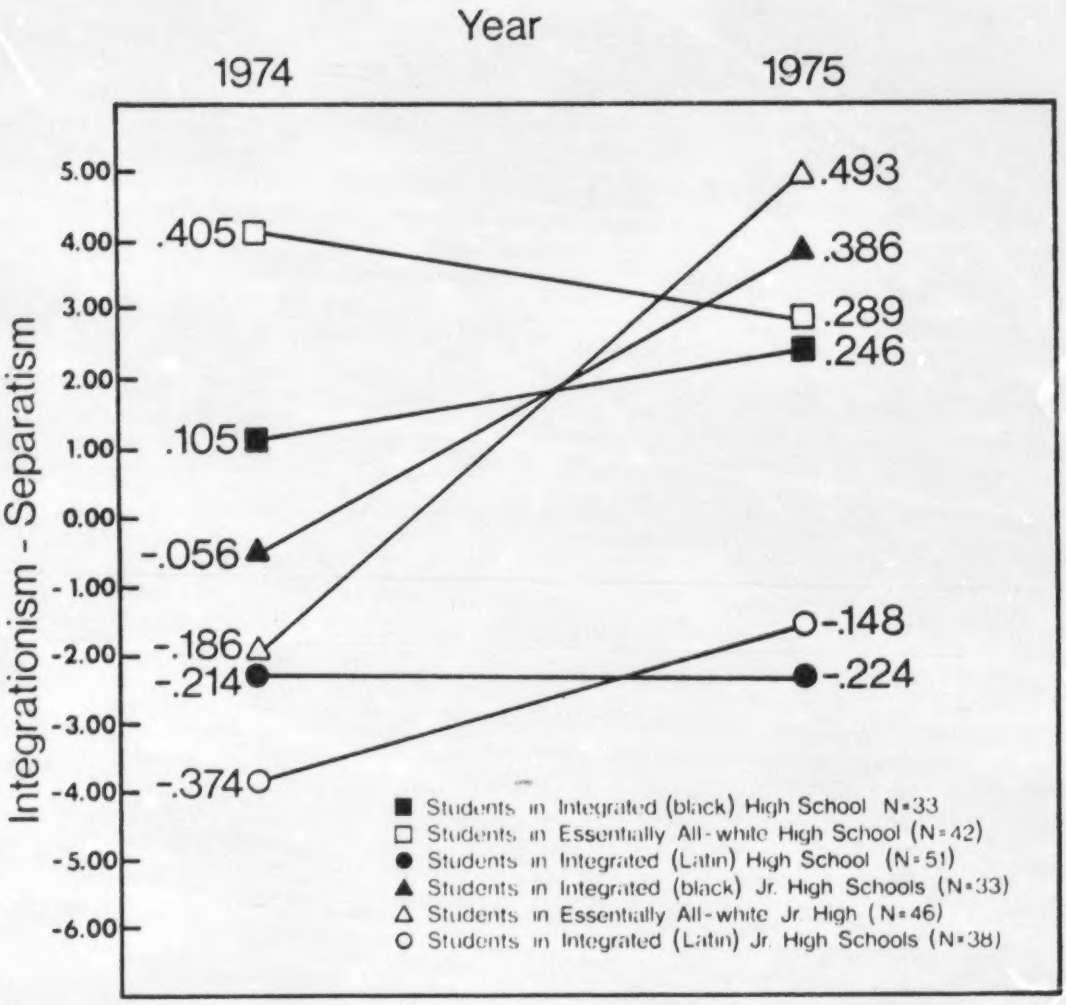
separatist than the other students on the integration-separatism dimension ($t = 2.12$ and 1.84 respectively, $p < .05$ with one-tailed test). This was not true of seniors in any of the schools, indicating that those who favored separatism most strongly and those who were avoiders left these schools. Thus there was some evidence of white flight under the school system's open enrollment-transfer policy. However, the flight occurred primarily in the younger years, not during high school. The exception to this is whites in mixed white-Latin schools where there is more acceptance of the minority students and thus a later decision to leave the school.

The white students who remained in the mixed white-black junior and senior high schools and in the all-white and mixed white-Latin junior highs also exhibited a strong shift towards the separatist end of the dimension. These results are shown in Figure 2; the total shift is significant at the .001 level, but becomes nonsignificant when parental occupation and education are simultaneously controlled. The interaction effect remains significant, however ($F = 3.62$, $p < .01$). Only the scores of the senior high students in the all-white and mixed white-Latin schools remained constant. The white students in both the junior and senior mixed white-Latin schools, when compared to students in the mixed white-black school, were also much more in favor or integration than separatism. The main effect for school composition was significant at the .001 level ($F = 4.63$). Thus, although the intergroup experiences in the schools did not produce any increase in avoidance reactions, they did produce a separatist reaction among the white students in four of the six types of schools.

Black Students

For the black students significant differences appeared on both dimensions. The black students in both the integrated junior and integrated senior high schools scored on the approach end of the approach-avoidance dimension while the students in the all-black senior high school scored strongly on the avoidance end (see Figure 3). These differences are significant at the .001 level ($F=13.27$)

Figure 2



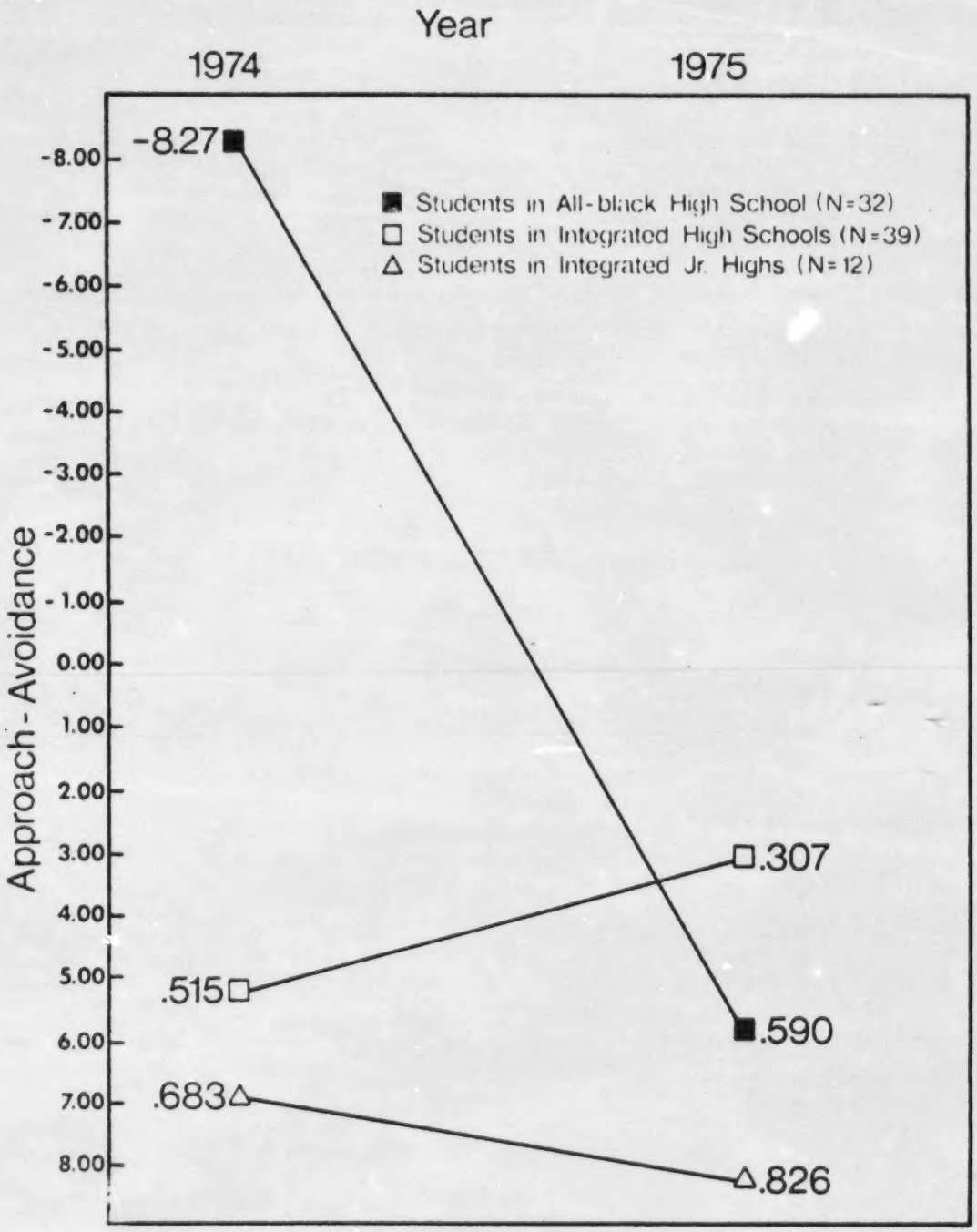
White Students' Changes on the Integration-Separatism Index 1974-1975.

and are corroborated by additional data from the surveys. The black students in the all-black senior high, when asked directly whether they preferred integration in society or separatism, expressed a preference for separatism more often than the black students in the integrated schools (X^2 = 11.10, N = 55 for each group, d.f. = 2, $p < .01$). Although the question asked about integration, the responses appear to be avoidance reactions for they are in the same direction and portray the same pattern as the avoidance reactions on the avoidance-approach dimension.[7]

Figure 3 about here

During the year's time the attitudes of the black students in the integrated school remained approximately the same. However, the attitudes of the black students in the all-black senior high changed dramatically; in 1975 they, like the black students in the integrated schools, also scored highly on the approach end of the dimension. The change from 1974 to 1975 for the three groups was statistically significant at the .001 level (F = 27.40) but was primarily the result of the change of the senior high students in the all-black senior high school (see Figure 1 again). This is indicated by the interaction between school composition and time (F = 35.89, $p < .001$). When the parental occupations and educational levels were controlled, the main effect and the interaction effect remained strong (F = 35.89 and 32.67, $p < .001$). However, the change over time became nonsignificant (F = 2.33 p n.s. with 2 and 76 d.f.). The father's occupation explained 7.5 percent of the variance on the approach-avoidance dimension and the mother's occupational level explained an additional 8.8 percent thus diminishing slightly the main effect for

Figure 3



Black Students' Changes on the Approach-Avoidance Index 1974-1975.

school composition and the interaction, but completely accounting for the overall change. In other words there was an association between parental occupation and the school composition, with parents of the students in the all-black school holding significantly lower status jobs than the parents from the integrated school. When this is controlled statistically the overall change is less. Nevertheless,

overall differences remained between the students in the different kinds of schools and the interaction between school composition and time remained. Furthar, the differences were not attirbutable to dropouts or students who changed schools. The students unavailable for reinterviewing were only slightly different on the dimension from the students successfully interviewed both years.

It should be noted that these results are the opposite of what Armor found in Boston. He found higher support for separatism, preference for segregated schools, and more support for black power among bused (integrated) students than among the non-bused students. The significant change in the present study
was among the students in the all-black senior high, not in the integrated school. In addition when the students were asked directly whether they favored integration or separatism, the students in both junior and senior all-black schools more than the black students in integrated schools said separation. This again was the opposite of the Armor findings.

The results on the separatism-integration dimension resemble more closely Armor's results.[8] The black students in the integrated school showed ideological support for separatism while the students in the all-black senior high school showed support for integration (see Figure 4). These results were significant at the .01 level ($F = 5.70$ with 2 and 76 d.f.).

However, contrary to Armor's results, the black students in the all-black school during the course of the year also became more separatist in

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Figure 4 about here

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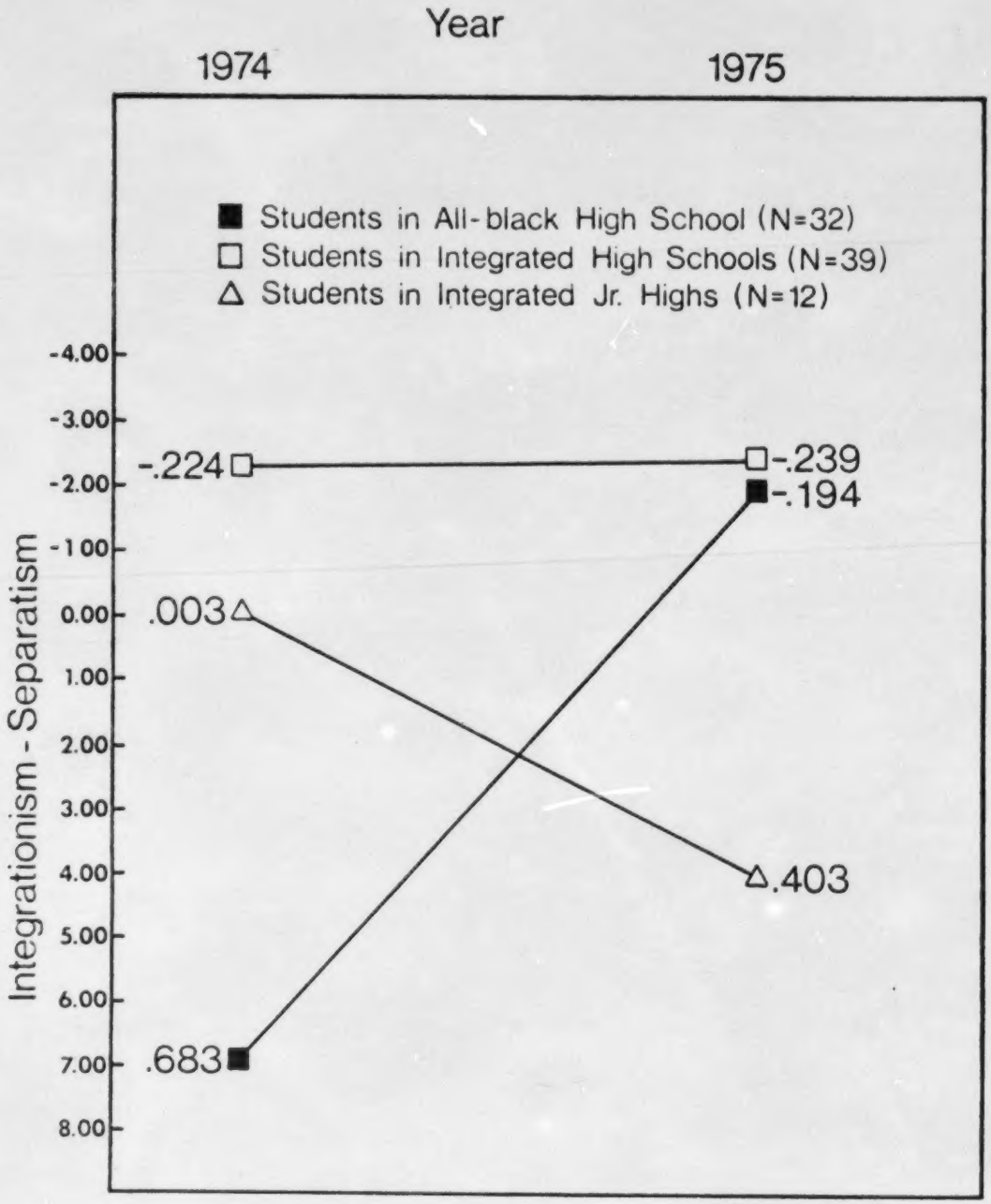
orientation while the black students' sentiments in the integrated senior high remained nearly constant. The black students in the integrated junior high on the other hand became more supportive of the integrationist position during the intervening year. These cross-pattern changes result in the significant interaction shown in Figure 4 ($F = 8.33$, $p < .001$). The effects from the junior high students are less important, however, than the change by the students in the all-black senior high school since the change is small and the size of the group is small compared to the other groups. The overall change from 1974 to 1975 was also significant but again was reduced to non-significance when parental occupation and education were controlled. The father's occupational level explained 11.5% of the variance in the change, and the mother's occupational level explained an additional 6.6%. When the controls were applied, the main effect was diminished some ($F = 3.50$, $p < .05$), but the interaction effect increased ($F = 13.80$, $p < .001$).

The results from the two dimensions, although seemingly contradictory, are consistent for the black students in the integrated senior high . Those students feel, evidently in part because of their experience in the integrated school, that they can approach their white classmates. Yet, for ideological reasons, which again may be in part school based, they maintain a separatist orientation. During the course of the

Figure 4



Black Students' Changes on the Integration-Separatism Index 1974-1975.

year the students in the all-black senior high became much more like the black students in the integrated schools and they did this on both dimensions.

There are several possible explanations for the changes that occurred primarily among the students in the all-black senior high. First those students who were unavailable for reinterviewing, dropouts and moveouts, might have had strikingly different attitudes than those who were reinterviewed. As already stated this was not the case. A comparison of those available and unavailable for reinterviewing revealed no attitudinal differences. Like the Latin students, the black students' scores on the two dimensions were not related to their dropping out or transferring to other schools.

A second possiblity is that the students in the all-black high school matured and outgrew the effects of segregation and thus became more like the black students in the integrated schools. This may have been facilitated by the approaching job market in which the students would in all probability be working with whites, a situation similar to research results that show peoples' attitudes changing as an abstract possibility becomes a concrete reality. Another possibility is that the black students were experiencing the same processes of alienation and disenchantment with white society that the black students in the integrated schools experienced earlier. But then we would expect them to become more avoidance oriented, not approach oriented. Furthermore, both of these possibilities are rather remote, given that the shifts were dramatic and occurred over a relatively short period of time. Still another possibility is that the black leadership locally and nationally became more separatist and this was communicated to the students. However, there is no striking evidence to indicate that this happened and even if it did occur, it would not explain the change towards the approach orientation.

However, an important event which occurred during the course of the year at the all-black senior high school does appear to account in part for the changes. With great pressure by the black community the school board made a final decision to replace the all-black school with a new building and bids were let. The site of the new building, previously a matter of public controversy was finally established at the old location, the black community's preferred site. The black community had been heavily involved in these issues for some time and the final battles were won during the intervening year in which this study was conducted. The success had a significant impact on the feelings of the black community. St. John points to the positive effects such an event might have in a black community. In discussing the symbolic message that desegregation conveys to the black community she also stated that a new all-black school might have similar effects:

> It is probable, though not yet adequately demonstrated, that an all-black school in a new location and beautiful building and conspicuous in the quality of its staff and program might contribute as much to the self-esteem of pupils as attendance at a high-status predominantly white school. (St. John 1975:93).

Note that the successful effort to have the new school built would explain the changes that occurred on both the approach-avoidance and the integration-separatism dimensions. Because the struggle had been with whites and been successful, there would be more of a sense that blacks could successfully approach whites on a personal level. However, since the goal had been a school of their own, a new all-black school, there would likely be a change towards ideological support of separatism.

If the successful fight for the new building was in fact the cause of the changes on the approach-avoidance and integration-separatism indices, certainly the students' sense of personal control and self-concept should increase. This would be particularly true if the students themselves and their parents were involved in the effort. To the extent that the teachers had been active in the issue the students would also feel their teachers were more responsive to their needs. Changes in these variables and two measures of anxiety were examined in additional analyses of covariance. The variables were also included because they were personality variables and because previous regression analyses had shown all five variables to be important predictors of both the approach-avoidance and integration-separtism dimensions (see Jacobson, forthcoming). All five variables were measured with three to five Likert-type items. The personal control items were taken from Coleman et al. (1966), and the anxiety items were adapted from Alpert and Haber (1960).

Significant changes in the anxiety scores of the students did not occur during the course of the year, nor were there significant interactions between the type of school and the anxiety scores. The black students in the integrated schools had significantly higher debilitating anxiety scores, but there was not a significant change by the students in the all-black senior high school. At the same time the interaction for the sense of personal control was not statistically significant, although it approached significance ($F = 2.03$, $p < .14$). Furthermore the students in the all-black school did not experience an increase in sense of control (3.48 to 3.52) but rather the black students in the integrated schools showed a decrease from 3.61 to 3.14. However, the

students in the all-black school did change significantly and positively in terms of both self-concept and perceived teacher reactions to themselves. Their score on the self-concept measure increased from 3.61 to 4.07 while the black students in the integrated senior high schools decreased from 3.64 to 3.22 and the integrated junior high school black students' scores remained fairly constant (3.62 to 3.65). This interaction was significant at the .01 level ($F = 5.90$) with no main effects present. At the same time the students in the all-black school viewed their teachers reactions to themselves much more positively--changing from a score of 2.23 to 3.84 while the black student scores in the integrated senior high school decreased slightly from 3.47 to 3.19 and the junior high school students' scores went from 3.47 to 3.97. This interaction effect was significant at the .001 level ($F = 16.58$).

Thus although all of the variables did not display the expected pattern, several did. This analysis therefore lends support to the interpretation that the construction of the new school had some effect on the students' scores on the integration-separatism and approach-avoidance dimensions.

Conclusion

Clearly, student reactions to integrated and segregated school experiences are complex. This is true for white students as well as the minority students. We have examined two dimensions and have found different responses by each group over time. The profound differences that occur in schools with different racial and ethnic compositions indicate that the schools and their compositions are in part responsible for these attitudinal and ideological differnces. Certainly selection operates to affect these variables. But the longitudinal design employed here shows that the schools themselves and events in the broader community have an effect.

The reactions of the white students in mixed-black schools is of particular importance for there is some indication of white flight. Thus it is important for the schools and society to remedy the causes of the reactions to stem white flight. Of course, parental reactions are strongly involved in white flight, but we need to better understand the processes that lead to avoidance and separatist reactions for all groups, black, white, and Latin, and for adults as well as youth.

The changes that occurred in the year's time also indicate that inter-group experiences can have a dramatic effect on student attitudes, attitudes that are likely to be carried into adult life. Certainly the response of the dominant white society to minority efforts to achieve better schooling is one of these. These plus additional reactions need to be examined in integrated and segregated schools, in changing versus stable schools, and in voluntary versus involuntary situations. They have important implications for the future of intergroup relations in our society.

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Footnotes

[1]There are several exceptions to this statement. First, Elder (1970, 1971), Forward and Williams (1970), and Armor (1972) report data collected from teenage samples, but only Forward and Williams and Elder have been concerned with the political socialization of youth on racial issues. Second, several researchers have examined a specific variable, internal-external control or the sense of personal control as a basis for black militancy (see Lefcourt, 1966; Rotter, 1966; Joe, 1971; and Jacobson, 1975 for reviews of this literature). Forward and Williams also examined other variables, most importantly alienation, fear of success, and expectations for future educational and occupational success, that were associated with support for black militancy. Finally, several researchers have examined the political socialization of youth (see for example Hyman, 1959; Jennings and Niemi, 1968 and 1974; and Langton and Jennings, 1968), but they have focused on non-racial attitudes, i.e., traditional political voting patterns and parental-youth attitudes similarities/differences. Still others have examined the youth revolt on campuses, but none of the aforementioned authors have systematically examined the correlates or development of racial ideologies and stances among minority and white adolescents.

[2]See Aberbach and Walker (1973:117-118) for a quick review of this literature, but see also Tomlinson (1970), Forward and Williams (1970), and Aberbach and Walker themselves.

[3]See also Goldman (1970) and Pettigrew (1971) for discussion of this issue.

[4]One all black junior high school did not participate in the study the second year and was replaced in the sample by another all black junior high school. Students from additional schools were surveyed the second year. The analysis reported here excludes the students from these schools, however, since changes in student attitudes over time are the focus of this study.

[5]A comparison of the eigenvalues gives a more technical assessment of the relative loadings of the items on the vectors. On the approach-avoidance dimension they were 4.24 for whites asked about blacks, 3.69 for whites asked about Latins, 2.95 for blacks asked about whites and 3.17 for Latins asked about whites. On the integration-separatism dimension the eigenvalues were 1.80, 1.41, 2.55, and 1.30 for the respective groups.

[6]When the same items and factor scores are used for all three groups, the resultant measurement error significantly attenuates the correlation and regression coefficients reported in the remainder of the paper. This is particularly t rue for the Latins and blacks since they are the smaller groups in the analysis.

[7]The question was actually lowly correlated with both dimensions for all three groups indicating that complex reactions cannot be easily examined with simple questions. This broad question tapped both dimensions. The variance was also quite small since the question required only a simple yes-no-not sure response and analysis of it added no results. The question was simply not specific enough to elicit any interesting results. Rather it took the specific items about integration, separatism and avoidance to elicit the results presented here.

[8]It is difficult to compare Armor's index with the dimensions used in the present study for he reports only two of his four items and neither of them was used in the present study. The one item that corresponds closest to any item used in this study reads "Most black people should live and work in black areas, and most whites should live and work in white areas." It corresponds with the following item used here "Schools with mostly black students should have mostly black teachers and schools with mostly white students should have mostly white teachers." However, that item loaded on the approach-avoidance dimension not

on the integration-separatism dimension. It is likely that the Armor dimension is tapping both dimensions used in this study. Needless to say the results presented here indicate the necessity for maintaining the distinction.